

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 104928 TOSEC 040086
ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY S/P:MASPIEGEL:BB

APPROVED BY S/PHABIB

AF:TSEELYE

S/S - MR. TARNOFF

S - MR. TARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104928 TOSEC 040086

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS
TO INFORM NATIONALIST LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON
RHODESIAN CONSULTATIONS

IN DRAFTING THESE INSTRUCTIONS, WE HAVE INCORPORATED
POINTS MADE IN YOUR MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN
AND JOSHUA NKOMO.

RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING TEXT AND
THAT IT BE SENT FROM LONDON, AFTER SUCH COORDINATION YOU
MAY WISH EMBASSY LONDON TO CARRY OUT WITH BRITISH THERE.

APPROVE:

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DISAPPROVE:

QUOTE NIACT IMMEDIATE DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, GABARONE,

MAPUTO, ACCRA INFO: NIACT IMMEDIATE SECSTATE WASHDC, CAPE
TOWN

1. THE SECRETARY ON MAY 6 AGREED WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN THAT WE SHOULD GO FORWARD JOINTLY WITH INTENSIVE

BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH INTERESTED PARTIES TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THEY ALSO AGREED TO SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, AND PERHAPS SOONER IF ALL THE PARTIES CAN BE PRIVATELY INFORMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

2. THE DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE, AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR. DAVID OWEN, HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA. BOTH GOVERNMENTS WISH TO REITERATE THEIR COMMON DETERMINATION TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONTACTS SO FAR TO BELIEVE THAT DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE A SATISFACTORY WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS. THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, AGREED THAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOW ENTER INTO A PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALISBURY. IT WILL BE HEADED BY MR. J.A.N. GRAHAM, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE. MR. VANCE HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR UNITED STATES CONFIDENTIAL

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OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END TEXT

3. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED JOSHUA NKOMO OF OUR INTENTIONS IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM MAY 6.

4. AMBASSADORS ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS SOONEST OF OUR INTENTIONS, AS WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO RESPOND BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA ARE IN ACCRA AND THAT MUGABE IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHERE THEY SHOULD BE REACHED WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE INFORM IMMEDIATELY IF THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND IF THIS INSTRUCTION CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT.

5. THE BRITISH WILL CARRY OUT SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL NOTIFICATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BY WAY OF A LETTER FROM OWEN WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR HIGH COMMISSIONERS. THE U.K. WILL ALSO INFORM NETO VIA

THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN LUANDA. COMMUNICATIONS WILL ALSO BE SENT SEPARATELY BY THE U.K. AND THE U.S. TO SMITH REGIME AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

6. IN INFORMING THE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS, YOU MAY PRESENT THEM WITH A COPY OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS A DRAFT, AND DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING FOR TALKING POINTS:

A. THE U.S. AND U.K. ARE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ON OR BEFORE WEDNESDAY, MAY 11. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR PLANS ARE BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE.

B. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THIS IS A CONFIDENTIAL

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FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

C. THE RECENT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT REFLECTS THE U.S. DETERMINATION TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE.

D. AS WE SEE IT, A LONG, INTENSE CONFLICT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR ALL CONCERNED: FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND FOR THE ECONOMY OF THE REGION. A STEADILY GROWING WAR WILL IN ANY EVENT POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE.

E. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME WILL CONTINUE. BUT, TO SHORTEN THE CONFLICT

AND HASTEN INDEPENDENCE, NON-MILITARY PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO NECESSARY.

F. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND AGREE WITH THEM THAT CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD HELP ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN CARRYING OUT A NEW PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

G. WE BELIEVE SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTIES AND FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO RUSH INTO ANOTHER CONFERENCE BEFORE THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

H. WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS ABOUT U.S. DIRECT INVOLVEMENT
IN A CONFERENCE. WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL HELP
RATHER THAN HINDER THE PROCESS.

I. EMPHASIZE:
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WE DO NOT WISH OURSELVES TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A
CONSTITUTION. THIS SHOULD PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THOSE
IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED AND THE UK.

J. WE SEE OUR ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AS
FACILITATING AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND HELPING THE
BRITISH SEEK A REAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

K. IF THERE IS PROGRESS IN THE CONSULTATIONS, WE ARE
PREPARED TO URGE THE SMITH REGIME TO AGREE TO A JUST
SETTLEMENT. THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY BUT WE BE-
LIEVE WE CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

L. THE BRITISH WILL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP IN AN
AFRICAN CAPITAL TO PURSUE THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS.
THE U.S. WILL ASSIGN A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY
WITH THE HEAD OF THIS GROUP. OCCASIONAL VISITS TO
RHODESIA MAY BE NECESSARY.

M. WE WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS JOINTLY WITH THE BRITISH
OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF THE INDIVIDUAL
PARTIES.

N. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT
SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON
ZIMBABWE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED TO DETERMINE
THE NATURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS.
WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK IMPARTIALLY WITH
ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. CHRISTOPHER

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